/230 cont./
773 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another
village and from other people with that reported to me by
Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and,
on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the
Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[191] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example,
with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies
that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the
Dêtoana and Puruborá.

/231/ V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
[535] from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
[534] tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[778] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --
Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
778 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

000

/10 cont./

178 In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) live
184 Ñandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, par-
[101] ticularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a
considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of
that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no diffi-
culty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large
part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Ñandéva
of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of
this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal
[114] brothers." I stayed with the Ñandéva of Dourados, and in the
extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the
[101] Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacareí or
Pôrto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications,
should correspond approximately to the probable point of de-
parture of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the
Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in
the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition
they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present
neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbũá /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by those Guaraní known in the literature as Kainguá /Caingua/, Kaiuá /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Ñandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txeirũ, Ñaneirũ ("mine" or "our friends"). It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apũteré, or Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves, however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It might be of interest to recall, concerning this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation, when he says, referring to the fact that an Auetũ /Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu could be considered the central point for the

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have frequent
[177] contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordinary
[433] alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the village.
[464]

[184] In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results
are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo population
[177] of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha,
621 inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup
and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the opportunity
[114] to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/18 cont./
000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biologi-
18 cal substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo
population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise
to a hybrid Ibero-native culture *sui generis*, meriting careful
anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity
of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the
one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character,
on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained
Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects.
Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the
European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the differ-
ent subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with
regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other
sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[797] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the
population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some
time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa-
[177] tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese
or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extrac-
tive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
[166] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní
[177] hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the
number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing
some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with
modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of
the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for
the study of the consequences of situations of contact between
American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type.
No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four
centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/20 cont./

121 177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121 184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. [114] Since the dividing line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact, with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

/21 cont./

121 the similarities in the religious system and in the social organiza-
• 184 tion, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on
[177] the acculturative process, go beyond the range that the differences in those and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Ñandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type.
/The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a
[164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed
[146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ diastodontia. With respect to the latter
[732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized
[143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which
[177] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the
[192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among
[773] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the ñanderú Miguel. Those that most
[184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/27 cont./
304 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In
184 southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal
mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá,
"pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule
the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most
[177] influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes
[789] for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me
about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless
I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall
loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair,
[192] divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two
knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape
of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division
disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput.
The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two
long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the
Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of
Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with
rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already
adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some
/28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional
hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is
[301] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus
[192] combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious
[554] leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies.
[178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown
is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others,
"more modern," let it grow longer.

142 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested
182 in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women
have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and
[147] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks
[482]
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/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

361 Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. [192] In general it is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the *ñanderú*, doctor-sorcerer,
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621 or the *oýguatsú*, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. *parentelas*/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

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178 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and religious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová
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621 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to discover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in
fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
(óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to
[184] those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having
two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height: those
of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception
there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall
and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo,
more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing
a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or
semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a
partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoĩá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó,
and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made
with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of
the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional
techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics
disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and
weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional
fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that
on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility
of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative
manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally,
the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní
to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to
interact.

/39 cont./

291 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not
184 use *txiripá* in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay;
he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with *txumbé*."
In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the *txiripá* and
[192] the *ponchito* described above /40/ have always been linked with
cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common cloth-
ing, the *tambéó*, a band of cloth passed between the legs and
caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the men-
tion of the *tambéó* was spontaneous, it is probable that the gar-
ment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain,
in any case, that the use of the *txiripá* and the *ponchito* is not very
suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 The Kayová *tambéó*, in disuse today, has been described to
[115] me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a
txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at
the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes
down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 The *txumbé* is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes
294 very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest,
and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters
long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the
two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one,
made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters
[283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while
the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the informa-
291 tion of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors
386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (*katĩguá*
824 in Kayová, *katiguá* in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from
the wild mulberry or tajuva (*tadiguá*). One uses the inner bark of
the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together
with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same
294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as
286 well weave or wove *txumbé*; the latter, moreover, made hammocks
352 of *txumbé* joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in
184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed
with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking
291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around
the waist in the manner of *txumbé*.

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).

[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but
[286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of
[192] industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

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178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

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[192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

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184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont./
291 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéõ and the
● 184 other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The
women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described
to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have
disappeared.

291 The Mbũá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéõ), a sort
[192] of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koĩtsĩ)
in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one
behind. On none of my visits to the Mbũá Indians of Brazil did I
[114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroỹsĩ. It was worn by the old "Cacique"
Pablo Veta: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36
centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes.
[286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth,
[177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know
how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the
trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbũá women make
ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbũá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some
women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two
meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the
[184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to
the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated
villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment,
/44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who
wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old
woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another
[184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through
contact with a group of Mbũá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than
it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in
the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --

771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year:
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance
incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/
[262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly
[273] among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the
[433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented
beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a
market outside the village.

243 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known
824 among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who
call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto.
[437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting
to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians
themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen,
is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a
matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní
tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of
[177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural
[437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or
less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity
to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There inheres
[773] in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from
two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is
considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called
Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for
making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done
separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the
kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting.
Both are planted only once a year, between the months of
August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January,
when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform;
they differ from village to village and, even more, from one
[126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some
[114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor
Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de
Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

2: Schaden--55 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Mbüa
Ñandéva

482
415
291
142
• 184
285

IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbüá. 2. Ñandéva.

241

V. Clearing of a Ñandéva-Guarani family from Dourados.

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of *guadjayvi*,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called *huguẽ*; further-
more, *ký ỹi* or *kumbarí*, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "*pimenta*
malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information
[415) of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions
that the Cainguá (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /*fumo*/ that
they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /*fumo-de-mascar*/
called *maxakáro*, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and
then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco
/*fumo*/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /*fumo*/ for chewing is cer-
tainly responsible for the abandonment of *maxakáro*.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová
than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case
they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192) of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbũá
is the pipe, *pẽtỹguá*, of typical form, made of clay or of pine
knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or
more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands
of his companion. Nowadays many Mbũá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (*pẽtỹ ñomimbiré*) with straw, which they prefer to those
with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who
made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbũá almost everybody smokes, including very
● 184 young children: once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "*txedjuká*." Among the
Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good
part of the women.

/53/

249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukũ or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová,
[778] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the
[302] pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un-
• [184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824
222 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
[177]
[43] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

/54 cont./

224 When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity
[192] of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered
[361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably
184 cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example,
• limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely
[192] with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, carí -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one,
[192] throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed
information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I
[114] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind,
•[184] as in Dourades among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the
Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the
Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first
case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends
476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages
178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of
companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by
[115] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have
[654] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus,
the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests,
[182] that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family.
Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases
to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open
a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his
house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did
not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later
he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food
is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the
621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this
group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the
puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius
of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one
another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbüá and Ñandeva)
[184] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/.
His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group,
helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind
rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a
574 Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by
273 a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of
fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according
to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient
Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do
not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied
by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition
between the small parties into which the group is divided
for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among
the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão
is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot
but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern,
the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food,
but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some
food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is
devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness
and the dances.

476 Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems
178 to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation
[621] of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to
•[184] replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous
and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone
[273] has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it
to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing,
thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness.
And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At
Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the
fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does
not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common
not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the
participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus
as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is
[182] not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to
fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

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574
/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putŷvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organise them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytŷvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva. [243] [462] • [184] [273]

476 621 [591] A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings: nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly [596] in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

/70 cont./ This
869 is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
828 the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
[097] Word/, who worked among the Mbũá and other Paraguayan
Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians
hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Müller, 1919.

869 Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
184 among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less
accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction
given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters
who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates
for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

855 For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
775 aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
[184] exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection
that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and
paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved
beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
775 already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one.
828 At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão
Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky,
firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch
him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest
son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that
of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give
858 their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
775 Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
828 adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned
in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the
officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters
of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve
from a child who a few years before was known to everybody
as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful
doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to
the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the
two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the
young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier
than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their
[583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are iso-
lated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when
she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of
[177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de
Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is
taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men
have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After
speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing
permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the
paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where
she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child
from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is
[584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage
and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks
the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told
[585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo-
[622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its
583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits:
591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the
absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive
[585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to
constitute a partially independent group of production and con-
sumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty
[593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of
origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the
184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among
the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18.
836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá,
184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that
825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and
848 adulteresses.
684

/75 cont./

582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbüá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbüá, who deny
the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage be-
tween parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the
[184] Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were for-
bidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my
[115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to
marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted
601 to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Al-
593 though in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified
with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them
is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among sib-
lings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true
604 for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes
593 that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and
[184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his
brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --,
a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with
respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old
avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there
was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups,
except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for
marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably
[115] also holds for the Mbüá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an
[178] informant from Amambaí, he said, lamenting that part of the
[829] new generation already "does not know the language straight"
and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow
countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times
no one married before having his lip pierced.

/77 cont./

585 178 [184] [114] [624] [648] I have not found the marriage performed by the *ñanderú* and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbüá of Xapecó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

595 Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Ñandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

586 [182] [581] An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbüá, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Ñandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Ñandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. 837 [586] Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

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606 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Concerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
● [184]
[179] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
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415 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbũá), and mynakũ (Kayová) (6) --

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114 6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Paĩ. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacũ." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbũá), while the "Paĩ" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pãi with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

462 415 [10] [14] /83 cont./

> also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guaraní woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a 462 gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Ñandéva of the Paulista [184] coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbüá. It should be noted that the industrial production [178] for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbüá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová [184] and Ñandéva, a feminine one among the Mbüá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the [577] Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make txumbé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

/85 cont./

844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that [828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three [184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbũá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbũá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me [828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avykỹ-á.

844 [593] [606] [602] The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the [824] navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is [752] [184] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are applied as "desiccative": the Mbũá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/86 cont./
846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known
in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Bra-
[171] zilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations.
The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the
couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried
to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or
[114] conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the func-
tions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned --
it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it
with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From
such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and
what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brood-
ing "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays,
to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This
is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the
paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however,
there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépocí used for the mother, and only the Mbüá consider her
(odjekó)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the
[115] state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva
woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the
Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day;
nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able
to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
• [184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová
woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed,
lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In
any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the
father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions
[114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to
neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming
from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

/88 cont./

846 178 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound [184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbüá, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 784 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, particularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the odjépotá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list 846 [184] of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drinks: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

846 /89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible. [513] For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual [114] abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father [753] and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. [823] The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry: the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." [784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple- • (184) ments. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

846 825 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá; that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjêpotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 825 773 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

/89 cont./

846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.

[881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it
is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until
the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they
stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take
the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating
girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject
rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her
puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal,"
odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other
human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous
change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová
maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
[304] ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
• [184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances
that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element.
While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound
religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced
to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis,
in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

/91 cont./

881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits
and in particular the *odjépotá* (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI
appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that
among them the task of cutting the girl's hair
falls to the father, immediately on the first day
881 of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl
301 makes -- for her father, brother, or another
• [184] person in the family -- a band that constitutes
one of the typical elements of Guaraní mate-
rial culture, since it is an ornament common
to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly
the men who wear it, with some forty or more
turns around each wrist, forming a band about
ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out
of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each
881 one. The Kayová call the ornament *pó-apý-*
301 *kuahá*, the Mbüá simply *pó-kuáá*. The Ñandéva,
184 who already have almost completely abandoned
192 it, say that it originated as protection against
the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its
use on both wrists would not be justified. The
Kayová consider the *pó-apý-kuahá* as a festive
ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás,
to the new clothes of the civilized people. The
Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and
on the legs, the men above and the women be-
low the calves, *tetýmãguá* and *tetýmãkuáá*,
interpret its use as a divine institution for the
"Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians.
881 But they also indicate the magical end of
301 avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the
827 arms and legs, the *tetýmãguá* therefore being
751 considered indispensable on long
walks.

/91 cont./

881 considered indispensable on long walks. At
301 Xapecó I was told that especially the women
tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because
the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear
them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say
[184] they are not familiar with the hair band for the
[237] legs, using, however, a different one, *y-asó*,
[192] made from the shell of a small water animal of
[751] like name: it is put on boys at an early age,
there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing
snake bites.

881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes
[751] her head in cedar water /Port. *agua de cedro*/ in order not to have
[824] headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an
infusion of *yvyrá rapóguasú* root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken
during the *couvade*, with the difference that, even today, they are
much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include
absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes
it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight
enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go
[171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying
down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict
prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian
[352] tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution
of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far
enough from the ground and not to be reached by the *yvýdjá*,
spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the
hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the
resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons
of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers
in the same way.

/92/

881 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or
[354] brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small
[237] candle of iraitý (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would
be danger of odjépotá. An old Ñandéva woman told me that
when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so
rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that
was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take
care of it.

881 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have
184 her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far
from the house and, at least among the Ñandéva, is accompanied
by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking
only at the ground and walking quickly.

881 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish her-
262 self only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being
[263] insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food,
small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes,
beiju (mbeidjú) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc;
the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get
the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer,
anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared
[184] peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Ñandéva
and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is
prohibited: baitaca, among the Mbüá; baitaca, juriti, inhambu,
and jacu among the Ñandéva. The latter enumerate further
among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork
881 and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with
262 negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that
753 the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would
give "crazy head." The Ñandéva, in turn, insist on the danger
of epilepsy ("attack," ẽ-ó-á) for the girl (and for her future chil-
dren, according to Poýdjú of Araribá) who does not abstain from
game, and they believe that baitaca and juriti would cause heavy
bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is
responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Ñandéva
and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Ñandéva say,

/92 cont./

881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Ñandéva
262 woman of Bananal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the *resguardo* without salt.
At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
[263] avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbüá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Ñandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the *odjépotá*. "The
one who gives the *odjépotá* /93/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the *karuguá* or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Ñandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the *odjépotá* on the part of the animals, particularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

The Mbüá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
[ML] order not to be the victim of snakes or the *yvyrádjá* (spirit of the
trees"), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the *ýdjá* ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the *itádjá* (spirit of the stone"). I have the impression that the
[184] animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbüá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
[171] tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (2).

2. /From p. 93 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, *passim*.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Ñandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstruation, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
751 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

/94 cont./
881 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence.
178 Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy,
881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not
825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated
in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar,
etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the
boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo
of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani-
[868) mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn
the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks
in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not
384 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general.
[184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-
[178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish
the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by say-
ing that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn
[824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not
necessarily done by the ñanderú. Any man of the village can
perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred,
however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old)
existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any
person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the
occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhóakú,
[752] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coré/ oil (ytxótxim).
[278] /95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously
[115 passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of
[868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has
been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills --
so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of
881 Pablo Vera of Yroÿsĩ. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino
867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series
577 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education").
[115) They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/95 cont./

881 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
867 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do
not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying
the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community
in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
[184] the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not
only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
[829] tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Never-
theless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration
(called there kunumí-pepý, or kunumí-piéta, hybrid form) is
doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
[114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were
obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paí) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on
holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period,
the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[561] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between
8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring vil-
lages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumí-pepý coincides in the respective year
with the maize celebration, avatí-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting
of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to
be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than
twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there
are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially
certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

/99 cont./

622 sorcerers, called *pajés* or *caraíbas*, who led
756 a solitary life in the remote part of the forests,
192 in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of *mbaí* by the form *paí* should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of *porahêi* by *mborahêi*, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero *Maíra* as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used *paí* to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, *passim*.) The use of *paí* as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "*Pajé*," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"*rezador*"/, or religious chief, seems
to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of
the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a
Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the
prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with *Koarahý*, solar di-
[624] vinity, also called *Ñanderú* by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The
latter also called the spiritual leader *ñanderúvitxá* ("our chief"),
[184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the
three subgroups the *ñanderú* is seconded in the religious ceremonies
by assistants who have the title of *yvyraídjá*.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to
take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the
security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who re-fused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission
from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call
him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the
village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two,
or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one
notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the
functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of
contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend
the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is
Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems
to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example,
who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother
of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of
religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco;
it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

/104 cont./

622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the
needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there
with the administration of the family group. As we have already
seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated
[177] as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of
[648] the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in
Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão
properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel
with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to
learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority
lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow
about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed
to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me,
"it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least
[622] yvyráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions
obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of
migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de-
[622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá
is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the
religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was
almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one
who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
• [184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães
/plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of
the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The
civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts
from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/104 cont./
624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
622 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
554 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material advantages
756 from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with exceptional
efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[465] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
[171] southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
[184] Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/109 cont./

771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore,
mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the
Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the
moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the
[775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned --
● [184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the
moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the
Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional
cases (Ñandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free
will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní
181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his
797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2).
177

2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

/110 cont./

771 182 797 177 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day differ radically from each other. In the former case there really was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond), while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without their religious significance being apprehended at the same time, for which reason different functions fell to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 184 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual, is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village, from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup, this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems to be two causes for this:

771 781 184 First, the individual, or better, individualistic character of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious significance of the principal manifestations of the community existence may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his personality.

/110 cont./

771 •184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

[177] [621] Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

771 774 121

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 842 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [171] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

/113 cont./

842 Among the Mbüá, as far as I have been able to uncover
775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
● 184 the Ñandéva, with only one important difference, that of not
admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or
adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed
to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the
village of Rio Branco expressed himself. "It is not in order to
return any more; when one goes up, another one comes down."
[776] It is God, Ñanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the female children "come" from the mother, the male ones from the
father (6).

> 6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Concerning the theory of conception and the notion of the human soul among the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan, São Paulo, 1959. It is a very rich source for the study of the mythology, the religion and the social organization of the Mbüá. The work offers many new points of support for again taking up the comparative study of the subgroups of the tribe -- including a large part of the questions touched on in the present essay.

77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
842 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through
184 which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all
things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a principle of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

/114 cont./
77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
• 184 tavýterã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the
Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera)
are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come
mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukútýtétã, located
in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies
returns to the yrukútýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn
by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death
of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor
would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are
thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always
strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with
whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human
soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that
man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest.
Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit
times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for
whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed
of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging
to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one
hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the
Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been
reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
177 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
797 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be
accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries
did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of
two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant
opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

774 three souls in every human being, has hereti-
828 cal ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all
are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of
atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese
word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only
bad people have it, it is their badness." If
[753) someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me,
and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé
yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By
[755] means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/
the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. --
184 This interpretation, in which the Catholic will
774 immediately perceive an analogy to the absolu-
tion from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva
828 most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as
755 it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for
example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take
away the atsýyguá, because then the person
would die." And he told of the case of a child
that cried all the time and did not want to suck.
The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she
should hang around the child's neck the beak of
a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view
of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake
774 coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken
away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when
828 already transformed into the anguéry. The soul,
755 which after death remains wandering over the
[775] ground (anguêry, shade /Port. assombração/),"
the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me,
"sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not
good: the person should not take the prayer
otherwise he remains changed and talks non-
[753] sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was
living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers,
became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

/116 cont./

775 oó dyvý yvýmárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10), weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According
[184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

> 10. /From p. 151 of the original source./
> [825] By the way, the animals also have anguêry,
> [126] as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not
[753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it
[761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can
[755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex-
775 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive
828 at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would per-
177 haps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

/118 cont./

774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the *ayvukuẽ(porĩvẽ)* return, but also the corresponding *atsýyguá*. Which is to say that the *anguêry* disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "*Oñimangá djevý kó yvýpy*," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the *atsýyguá* goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his *atsýyguá* develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 ● 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952.

/118 cont./

777 114 115 What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title ñanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

774 [826] For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txeñeẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txeñeẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12). ● [184] [114]

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

774 828 [191] The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called ñeẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a shade. [783] Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbũá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguêry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 828 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbũá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel, [184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbũá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbũá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. [184] Thus, the religious chief of the Mbũá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart, [537] and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of the informant: Txeẽ irundy ñeẽkuéry arekó; peteín arekó txepyáre, peteín arekó txeakãre, mokõi arekó okápe, oñãgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to [184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguêry

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[796] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[787] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
● [184] spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbũá. The Kayová,
[424] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[787] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.
[786] During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared: he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it; a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on
the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is
a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction
of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the
group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to
the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes
the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this
attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency
782 of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
778 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
[775] among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi,
[787] which the individual and the group need in order to enter into
communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it,
787 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a
dream. The ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers,
transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the
sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that con-
stitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the
doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Re-
garding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already
at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
● [184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no
two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major im-
portance. In general, the wife and children accompany the
husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer.
At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is,
"some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and be-
gins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A *ñanderú* is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by
the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with
a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a *paí*
and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a
mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would
gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with
them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would
appear with his "pupils," praying, at the *oká* (dancing ground)
of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At
Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a
very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the
ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does
not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have
no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers
to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the super-
natural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (*ñandetsý*, "our
mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are chil-
[868] dren and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the
abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they
are destined. Old Fernando told me: *Ñanderú* does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in
order to be able to become *ñanderú*.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married,
claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little re-
ligious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification
ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to
take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/125 cont./

756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
756 of the *porahẽi*. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
183 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using *mbaraká* and *kurusú*. The
cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayovás when the plants are ready to bear,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the *chicha* songs (*guahú* and *guahúvaí*). In the *guahúvaí* text there is sung, for example, *Takurú pỹtãva ñesyrũ*; in modern Kayová one would say, "*Takurú pỹtãva rysýi*," which means: red ants /Port. *cupins*, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
126 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/126 cont./

78 doctrines themselves. As internal dissentions increase, these
182 same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve
to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of
achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility
are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance
of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly,
the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be
[181] said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel
the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is,
to the porahẽi.

/127/ When the social disorganization of the villages
reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and
dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to
perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal
[184] I found few houses in which anyone still prayed: at Dourados I
never heard a Ñandéva sing his porahẽi. This is a state which
none of the Kayová or Mbüá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

753
[773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the
great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the
Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him
and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever
closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

/128 cont./

754 123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbũá.

754 829 [782] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeẽgaraĩ, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." [533] They have magic songs, called ñembóévaĩ or tehópapá; they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike: the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general. [782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraĩ referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaĩ) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paĩ Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaĩ that Paĩ Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxỹ for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohẽ vaĩ, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit involved into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(199) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
[755] not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 753 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
761 753 159 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who prescribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal
[763] experiences. This is what happened to the Ñanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also
782 those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called oñeẽgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication.
[184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large
[787] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or
[776] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not neces-
775 sarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of
773 death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/134 cont./

761 773 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has the notion of escaping. The Guaraní has an incomparably greater fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not know. The important thing in any case is the verification that, integrated into the Guaraní doctrinary system, it has been transformed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guaraní mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations of the tribe.

761 764 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a Guaraní -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversation touches on this domain. [114] As far as the Mbüá are concerned, it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 178 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common among the Guaraní. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed, its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron utensils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only insignificant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations and the information collected, is not observed among the present-day Guaraní either.

764 178 184 [171] Among the Mbüá, however, the memory that they formerly had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased (the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

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764 Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
*184 mediately after the death, it falling to the Ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion
of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and
178 Itanhaém; they bury them in a box made out of boards covered
with cloth, and above the grove they set a cross; on the other
hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatsaá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport their dead companion a distance of many
leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguéry that the Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling; they aban-
[178] doned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some
distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

/138 cont./

5. The direction of the religious acculturation

771 177 There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

771 177 178 184 It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbüá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Itariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

771 177 178 /139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices [797] which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

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563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the
children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile,
as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate
into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple
gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where
the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles
and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent
to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a
[578] mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-
operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the
"tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the
deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal,
Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death,
the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente,
had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30
cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part
from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a
glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity.
There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

/143 cont./

783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity, resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore, there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 *post mortem* punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation (peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True, the *anguêry*, into which the *atsýyguá* is transformed, is unhappy; but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability, it is not properly the *person* of the deceased. The latter, represented by the *ayvúkuê*, finds its redemption (and it is around the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates) through rebirth or, in definitive form, through *aguydjê*, i.e., the journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability, tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

775 /143 cont./
771 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
• 184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añã). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
776 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
869 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
784 soul must go through the realm of añã. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
776 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
177 has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
[182] Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
•[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different
attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example:
[669] In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer;
he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous attempts
829 at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies.
[184] Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant
to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a ñemongaraí, with an exhibition of all
ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

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771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
•184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual behavior
[574] learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot participate
in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship established
[608] outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová, among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the religious experiences obtained by participation in collective ceremonies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and religious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices, as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyraíjá, protector spirit, is identified with the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the "little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with disintegrative
178 forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation
is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

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Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechising. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

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The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá ñanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká í) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The ñanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

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As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention: one of the ends is placed in the mouth: one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

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538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of beliefs
184 and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which
on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes
it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent
the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible
to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the
groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their
migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the preexistent
538 stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided
to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito
Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/
Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also
crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many
new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poĩpẽ, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does
not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except
his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not
leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in
all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

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751 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pend-
177 ant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit
237 of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo,
"in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the
hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining
guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and
who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator
skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small
rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against tooth-
789 ache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa
177 Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any
definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the
saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of
Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in gen-
[776] eral, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São
Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there
is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure
of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá
[184] and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all
[171] quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it
causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it: nobody sees it,

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776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks
with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two
legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá ĩ); it
[184] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim
Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian
[177] or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterẽ, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two
legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself
by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and
shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the
paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterẽ whistles, one
must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears,
armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it
or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterẽ with white skin and
others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterẽ with
bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharẽ rupiguá.
Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If
the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it
possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants
to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco
at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterẽ drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is
776 177 obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it
cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among
the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is
a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on
the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

773 121 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to
collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some
examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them
in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians
listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira,
and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the
narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

/159 cont./

538 Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the
533 acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial
• 184 homogenization observed in the contact among the Guaraní of
the different subtribes. While, for example, in Itariri few
Ñandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be
influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbũá recently arrived
from Paraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly
among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or
539 less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes,
533 the young people sang the stanzas brought by the strangers. I
shall reproduce some examples here:

1. Erú una karéra mbóguédjý nderyvý. Toguatáguatá. Opáma piẽta. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ñomíaré, kutxára ñomíaré, roríotoridjú rorí tỹimã; ararakãre nde yguáryrú riré. (He stole the spoon, he stole the spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétỹguá mirí djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká katk /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txeretã mombyrý; ndavýái. Avaká porã repotí ndaútsẽire; djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away: I have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the litter of pretty oxen; the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. Édjú, txeirũ ĩ, djadjogueroá; aiparivé rió: rupépa, rupépa, ityryrú káí, ityryrú káí. (Come, my comrade, let us fight; it is my error: urupé /a kind of tree/ urupé, liver /Port. fígado, liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is a matter of orelha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ovái: oró ú ĩuĩ takuarý-porã. (We want to go to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djatereí katú raé, txeryvý, pará ovái, djaá djirodjý, djaá yvý reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

771 /162 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[756] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[787] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only
part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later,
they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
[175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found
some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not
be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in
order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would
the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought?
In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it under-
● [184] gone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by
the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the
Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to
seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in
Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which
have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably
part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is
possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

/162 cont./
773 797 177 [184] in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

> 3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[114] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4),

> 4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors: "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

/163 cont./

773 771 184 The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77 177 What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77 181 If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

/169 cont./

2. The Mbüá

772 771 [114] [167] Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

772 771 177 [114] With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

772 771 • [184] It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjê, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

77 184 /170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

/171 cont./

771 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the re-
178 ligious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends
to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to
the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which
the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural
[182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the
economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the
normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected be-
cause of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.
771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land
772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer,
[756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beauti-
ful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will
send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey
there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of
Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The
latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build
their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there,
no death. And there they will find alive their deceased compan-
ions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to
grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing
but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference
there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that
[777] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero
and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the re-
[797] membrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from
Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many
167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves
181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres-
ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at
[184] the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling
in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity
to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado
they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they be-
lieve, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the
Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But
their day will come.

/172 cont./
183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes
[828] of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so
passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance
in the conjunction of the collective representations of the
Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree),
of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Ñanderú
• [184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[782] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the
path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea.
In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the
path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins.
Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in
the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path
of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm
of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant
form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray
with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his
frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation
of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, according
to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths
that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the
yvyráídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does
not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

/175 cont./

77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
182 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by
the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has
been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The
present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception
of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and
social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the
myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep
religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of
the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely,
the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly,
the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do
not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of
the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical
situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the
predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of
the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing
considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which
must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing
in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from
his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

77 /175 cont./
177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
178 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
[756] reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[624] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[186] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and
[157] poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities
result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight
toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./
[273] It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among
these manifestations the considerable consumption
of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day
Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger
177 sphere of the acculturative problems. No great
182 effort is needed to see that the tendency toward
733 alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the
social disorganization and the frequency of con-
tacts with foreigners. The most prone to the
[184] vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages
of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least,
the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns
of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá
of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay
in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of
my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

273 The attitude of the Indians regarding drunken-
828 ness is interesting. Some, generally the ones
[177] most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the sub-
ject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice,
which they try to fight, even by means of reme-
dies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk
about their tendency toward the use of drink with-
out the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

/176 cont./

/footnote 10 cont./

273 828 wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184] [648] [797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527] [855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

II. CAYUÁ CULTURE IN THE PAST

121 IN this account of Cayuá culture in the past, "the past" is taken as roughly the time of the European entry, before any considerable alien influence was felt by the Guarani-speakers of the Paraguayan area. The description is partly based on comparative material, that is, contemporary accounts of other Guarani groups; there is no extensive contemporary account of the Cayuá but only random references to them or to peoples who might be Cayuá. It is almost certain, too, that the term "Cayuá" (or its equivalents) was not being widely applied in the early colonial period to the forebears of the people in question.

127 121 The present description also depends in part on a few, brief, later accounts, Rengger,[33] at the beginning of the 19th century, and von Koenigswald,[34] Sampaio,[35] and Ambrosetti[36] at the turn of the century. Müller[37] and Strelnikov,[38] whose work was done in the early 20th century, are also of some help in reconstruction. Rengger, in particular, and von Koenigswald and Sampaio to a lesser extent, all bear out the contention of great basic similarity between the Cayuá people and their Guarani-speaking neighbors. This certainly puts us on safer ground as far as being able to use comparative material for reconstructing Cayuá culture. It is possible to pick up an early account, even of the coastal Tupi of Brazil, and go down the list of cultural elements, checking off the majority which appear to have been in a general sense common among Cayuá. In the opinion of the writer, due caution has been exercised where aspects of Cayuá aboriginal culture were probably similar to other Tupi-Guarani cultures but where we do not have sufficient material to judge with finality.

ECONOMY

174* 241 433 The Cayuá, like their relatives, were primarily agricultural people, as early as we have any information about them. They practiced much the same type of tropical forest agriculture as the Tupinambá groups of the Brazilian coast and must have been nearly identical in agriculture with their Guarani neighbors in Paraguay. Métraux has argued that the agriculture of the Tupi-Guarani peoples in the Paraguay region was somewhat different, as to the importance of the various plants basic to it, from that of the more 174* 243 244 433 184 northerly tribes near the equator.[39] It has been said, for instance, that corn was more important to the southern groups and manioc to the northern groups, because of environmental differences. However, such differences in agriculture were usually of degree, though perhaps significant. Manioc was, from every

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[33] Rengger, 1835. [34] Von Koenigswald, 1908. [35] Sampaio, 1890.

[36] Ambrosetti, 1894 [37] Müller, 1934–35.

[38] Strelnikov, 1928. [39] Métraux, 1928, pp. 65 ff.; p. 102.

174* 243

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[illegible] 244
Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the 433
equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani. 184 •

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various
plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants 24
for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interest- 184
ing to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds
of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeo-
graphic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the 174*
north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here. 245

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea* 244
sp.), *mangára* (*Aroides sp.*), *mbakuká* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) 243
pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn,
and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not
solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognised, and prob-
ably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear
that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the
north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognised. Corn 174*
was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind 243
and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past
as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds
of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of inter-
mixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), 174*
and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through 243
the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-
yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this
country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and
harvest sweet potatoes according to color. 174*

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical 241
slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First
the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as
many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of
available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course,
as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was
allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year
usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if
wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about
the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

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[illegible] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous [178]*
North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed
the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is
more developed in the North than the South.

*174
241 consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[4] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of [192] charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakuá*) [192] and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokué* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to *174 the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the 241 Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did 462 the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive [224] with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for [226] cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative [184] data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture *174 was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive 224 hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus *174 and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out 224 of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have 261 long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat 262 family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[237]

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[171] [4] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude openwork "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work. 174* 415 [285]

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocói* (the word for "two"?). [192] [462] [192]

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano 174* 501 [171]

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "*Cayuá ou Cainguá do Brésil*" (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Paĩ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86] 174* 184 • 291 291 174* [714]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupí tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the 174* 301 237 [171]

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[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim.*

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather 589
than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, 462
with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, 464
these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows
keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with
whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade
goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow
villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not [465]
exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent
internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the
largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians,
possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore
be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[184]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems 177*
to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad
working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one 184 •
more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, 464
nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at 178*
Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger
scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet
very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals
desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the
internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably
is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically
everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá
wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced,
will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative 464
change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the
Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such 648
periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá [177]*
peão often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his [166]
patrão happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri.
During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in [466]
rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the
patrão, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his
wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

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vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with [464]
very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[184] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[352] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the restriction
had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[784] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
[843] son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man
[824] has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of
maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks
maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking
him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[184] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[304] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent before
his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[753] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily
[262] appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the
ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat
[753] beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later
be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states
of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but
[824] it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays,
however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and
eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the
bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
[594] place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals
concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place,
the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary
family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá
kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young
man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/45 cont./

124 the informants declared that such a marriage was not permitted.
582 Only one man was of the opinion that it was permitted, saying,
604 however, that it was not usual (11).

[184]

> 11. On the occasion of a visit of ten days to the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta, in the south of Mato Grosso, I was informed by a white woman that the Indian men, so she affirmed, married their nieces (whether daughter of the brother or daughter of the sister she could not say), but it was not possible in any way for me to obtain confirmation of the fact. It seems, then, to be a matter of erroneous information, one of the many that are current in the white population regarding the Indians.

[114]

[684] Even the older men of the community did not remember that a marriage of this kind had taken place at any time, and one of these men, the most important one of the aldeia, told that, when he was a boy, they had told him that if he married his sister's daughter or another person designated by the same term, he would probably be attacked by jaguars when he went into the forest.

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60 In conclusion, one can say that, having a sufficient number of published pieces of information, a comparison of the Cayuá kinship system with the kinship systems of the other tribes speaking the Tupí-Guaraní idiom, based on the principles formulated by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and by Drs. Fred Eggan and Sol Tax, will have considerable importance for the study of the social organization.

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve,
and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 *Cainguá* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes
824 of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one
[412] end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through
[415] beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay
[171] is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Cainguá* have
no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve
[445] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

341 A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular
178 houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square
[361] plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the
ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts
dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched
[824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces
of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were forti-
[712] fied with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with
half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Cainguá*
now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with
tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-
daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft.,
[413] wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden
needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Cainguá* of Brazil still
lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50
feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a
thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock
[178] is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-
[532] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal
[353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves
[237] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in cer-
178 tain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress
177 (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to
797 the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary
184 influence.

influence. The southernmost *Guarani*, who lived in a harsh climate, 291
followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some 178
Cainguá groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in [177]
others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a [101]
belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Boticola*, "crupper").
Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern 301
Guarani is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy resin; labrets of 178
stone or bone were exceptional.[28] Women hang triangular shell pendants [314]
from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk [121]
necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A [175]
few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver [112]
or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton 301
sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs
of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's [532]
necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone [237]
pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish
vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, 301
but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants 237
in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted [554]
on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather [177]
garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary
bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of [184]
human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of [824]
palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guarani*, still used by some *Cainguá* 302
groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but 178
was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of 302
genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups substitute [386]
for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and [184]
honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes [531]
applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift 825
animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though 501
they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The
Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently
make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

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[28] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the
•184 corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn
76 the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short
time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Sec-
[551] ondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name
is taboo.

152 As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community
765 were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifesta-
[574] tions of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had
[171] died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

775 According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach
[776] the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it
passes the demon Añay unscathed, other souls may detain it until its
reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind
a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the
hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are
expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are
the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú,
1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

178 Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Cainguá*, was an
266 honored practice among the ancient *Guaraní*. Its ritual seems to have
727 been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well
[171] treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even
many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village
plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* prisoner pelted his tormentors
with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people.
[865] Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes
and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their
duties as future warriors. According to Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 51),
[553] everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and every-
one who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art among the *Cainguá* is limited to the simple geo-
metrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery,
incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs;
anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

857 **Games and toys.**—Small children show certain skill at modeling men
[532] or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are
[524] wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The
toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

178 The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guaraní* north of the Apa River, played
526

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some 178
Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 526

Today the *Cainguá* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they
throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guarani* and among their 178
modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the 534
most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guarani* tribe, [562]
rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is be- [778]
lieved to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking [756]
rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube
is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved
with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who [533]
pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the [562]
cadence of their dances.

The flutes of the ancient *Guarani* were often made of the long bones [727]
of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about
their other musical instruments.

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Cainguá*.
The *Pañ'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with [184]
their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops
and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A
curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among
modern *Cainguá*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which
are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish
drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic 272
of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guarani*, who sip it through a reed 17[illegible]
from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The
aboriginal *Guarani* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only
by shamans. Modern *Caingua* collect maté in the forest and prepare it [222]
in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over
a fire.

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes 276
have been found archeologically, and the *Cainguá* still used them not [178]
long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Cainguá* had their [171]
bowls ornamented with a sort of crest. [532]

Like the *Tupinamba* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guarani* celebrated 178
all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful 527
hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. [171]
Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but 178
also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was 273
activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus*
sp.). Modern *Cainguá* prepare mead, which may be quite strong.

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and
776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult
771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Pañ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[illegible] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among
[791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of
[184] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Pañ'*). A stock of traditional
[782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of
[797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
[756] from them.

generously shared with his subordinate. Our Mother conceived the 773
Twins, Our Elder Brother, and Our Younger Brother, the former by the 776
Creator and the latter, who was weak and stupid, by the Creator's companion. From that point the *Apapocuva* version follows more or less [171]
the *Tupinamba* sequence of motifs. The mother is killed by the Jaguars, on which the Twins later take their revenge. Our Great Father's Son manifests his superiority by always taking the initiative in any adventure and by repairing the blunders of his younger brother. The Twins are secondary culture heroes who complete the work of the Creator. Our Elder Brother steals fire from the vultures on behalf of mankind and teaches the medicine dances to the Añan, who in turn train the men. Our Elder Brother still resides in the zenith taking care of mankind in a very indefinite way. He will participate in the final destruction of the world by removing one of the props on which it lies.

In a *Pañ'* myth, fire is acquired by the Celestial Rhea. [184]

The Añan demons, who are the constant victims of the practical jokes played by the Twins, are purely folkloric characters, with the exception of a single Añan who devours the souls of the dead when they pass by his hammock.

The *Aré* have a myth about a flood (Borba, 1904, pp. 61–64) from which a single man escaped by climbing on top of a palm tree. The sapacuru birds created land again by dropping piles of earth into the water. The man was taken on a raft to a place where many women were bathing. He took a woman for himself, and their descendants are the *Aré*.

Cosmology.—The Sun, as a deity, is called Our Father and is distin- 821
guished from the material light and heat which he produces. Sun and 773
Moon are sons of the Creator; the Moon was smeared with genipa when 776
he had homosexual relations with his brother.

Eclipses are caused by the Eternal Bat—according to the ancient *Guarani*, by the Celestial Jaguar—which gnaws the Sun or the Moon. The *Apapocuva* have a very pessimistic outlook on the future of the world; they are firmly convinced that its end is near. Very soon Our Great Father will set the earth on fire, unleashing the Eternal Bat and the Blue Jaguar which will destroy the stars and mankind.

The *Pañ'* identify the Milky Way with the Celestial Rhea; when the [184]
bird will have finished eating two heaps of food (Magellanic Clouds) it will devour mankind (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1936–37).

MESSIANIC AND REVIVALISTIC MOVEMENTS

From the period of European Conquest to the present day, the *Guarani* 668
have been periodically stirred up by religious crises similar to messianic 786
revivals in other parts of the world. Either a prophet would start a 178
religious and political evolution by announcing the end of Spanish rule

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of 361
Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To [161]
a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed
for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in [184]
relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently
encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were,
however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing,
possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the
group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses,
many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every 241
adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is
cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and- 423
burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, [462]
and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being [581]
widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated
with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal [736]
means of obtaining a living. [594]

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and 224
fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça*
owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in 226
the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent
in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at
least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more
for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of
Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be
found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably
not more than one or two men in the village who spend more
time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional
meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged
in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not
they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct
from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not
call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

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[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [177]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão,* and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one
was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
177 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity,
182 it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of
434 the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão,* or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão,* and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça.* He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
434 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
182 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
184 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in
177 payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *rôça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão.* These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
476 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
182 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça.* He himself, however,
177 may wish to give a *puxirão,* to help "catch up." In this case, the
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purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the 476
principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon
also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only 177
in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself. 434

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only 121
of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of
their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some 177
of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the 178
economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

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